

REVIEWED BY *Bob Blaum* DATE 1/27/89

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1. Stevenson letter to UN, October 22, calling for SC Meeting (UNCL.)

a) "The United States now has incontrovertible evidence that the USSR has been installing in Cuba a whole series of facilities for launching offensive nuclear missiles and other offensive weapons and installing the weapons themselves. These steps are far in excess of any conceivable defense requirements of Cuba."

"In accordance with its obligations under the United Nations Charter, the United States now brings before the Security Council the fact of nuclear missiles and other offensive weapons in Cuba, and proposes the prompt and effective discharge of the Council's responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security."

"It should be the purpose of Security Council action to bring about the immediate dismantling and withdrawal of the Soviet missiles and other offensive weapons in Cuba, under the supervision of United Nations observers, to make it possible to lift the quarantine which is being put into effect."

2. United States Draft Resolution, October 22 (UNCL.)

"1. Calls as a provisional measure under Article 40 for the immediate dismantling and withdrawal from Cuba of all missiles and other offensive weapons;"

3. President's Proclamation of Quarantine (UNCL.)

"For the purposes of this proclamation, the following are declared to be prohibited material: Surface-to-surface missiles; bomber aircraft; bombs; air-to-surface rockets and guided missiles; warheads for any of the above weapons; mechanical or electronic equipment to support or operate the above items; and any other classes of material hereafter designated by the Secretary of Defense for the purpose of effectuating this proclamation."

Secretary of Defense Special Warning to Mariners No. 31 (UNCL.)

"The prohibition of surface-to-surface missiles covers a prohibition of missile propellants and chemical compounds capable of being used to power missiles."

NOTE: The definition includes short-range surface-to-surface missiles designed for use at sea. Also, mechanical and electronic equipment to operate surface-to-surface missiles includes a wide variety of communications, supply and missile launching equipment, including hover class motor torpedo boats.

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5. Khrushchev to Kennedy, October 26 (CONFIDENTIAL)

a) "In the name of the Soviet Government and the Soviet people, I assure you that your conclusions regarding offensive weapons on Cuba are groundless. It is apparent from what you have written me that our conceptions are different on this score, or rather, we have different estimates of these or those military means. Indeed, in reality, the same forms of weapons can have different interpretations."

b) "You are mistaken if you think that any of our means on Cuba are offensive. However, let us not quarrel now. It is apparent that I will not be able to convince you of this. But I say to you: you, Mr. President, are a military man and should understand: can one attack, if one has on one's territory even an enormous quantity of missiles of various effective radii and various power, but using only these means. These missiles are a means of extermination and destruction. But one cannot attack with these missiles, even nuclear missiles of a power of 100 megatons because only people, troops, can attack. Without people, any means however powerful cannot be offensive.

"How can one, consequently, give such a completely incorrect interpretation as you are now giving, to the effect that some sort of means on Cuba are offensive. All the means located there, and I assure you of this, have a defensive character, are on Cuba solely for the purposes of defense, and we have sent them to Cuba at the request of the Cuban Government. You, however, say that these are offensive means."

c) "I assure you that these vessels, now bound for Cuba, are carrying the most innocent peaceful cargoes. Do you really think that we only occupy ourselves with the carriage of so-called offensive weapons, atomic and hydrogen bombs? Although perhaps your military people imagine that these (cargoes) are some sort of special type of weapon, I assure you that they are the most ordinary peaceful products.

"Consequently, Mr. President, let us show good sense. I assure you that on those ships, which are bound for Cuba, there are no weapons at all. The weapons which were necessary for the defense of Cuba are already there. I do not want to say that there were not any shipments of weapons at all. No, there were such shipments. But now Cuba has already received the necessary means of defense."

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- d) "It is also not a secret to anyone that the threat of armed attack, aggression, has constantly hung, and continues to hang over Cuba. It was only this which impelled us to respond to the request of the Cuban Government to furnish it aid for the strengthening of the defensive capacity of this country."
- e) "Then, too, the question of armaments would disappear, since, if there is no threat, then armaments are a burden for every people. Then, too, the question of the destruction, not only of the armaments which you call offensive, but of all other armaments as well, would look different."
- f) "You would declare that the United States will not invade Cuba with its forces and will not support any sort of forces which might intend to carry out an invasion of Cuba. Then the necessity for the presence of our military specialists in Cuba would disappear."

6. Khrushchev to Kennedy, October 27 (UNCL.)

- a) "You have been worried concerning the fact that we have helped Cuba with weapons, with the aim to strengthen its defensive capacity -- yes, precisely its 'defensive capacity', because no matter what weapons it possesses, Cuba cannot equal you: because these are different quantities, all the more so if one takes into consideration the modern means of extermination."
- b) "I therefore make this proposal: We agree to remove those weapons from Cuba which you regard as offensive weapons. We agree to do this and to state in the United Nations this commitment. Your representatives will make a statement to the effect that the United States on its part, bearing in mind the anxiety and concern of the Soviet state, will evacuate its analogous weapons from Turkey."
- c) "The weapons in Cuba that you have mentioned and which you say alarm you are in the hands of Soviet officers. Therefore, any whatever accidental use of them to the detriment of the United States is excluded.  
  
"These weapons are situated in Cuba at the request of the Cuban Government and only for defense purposes. Therefore, if there is no invasion of Cuba, or attack on the Soviet Union or any other of our allies, then of course these weapons are not and will not be a threat to anyone. For they are not for the purposes of attack."

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7. White House Statement, October 27 (UNCL.)

"The first imperative must be to deal with this immediate threat, under which no sensible negotiation can proceed.

"It is therefore the position of the United States that, as an urgent preliminary to consideration of any proposals, work on the Cuban bases must stop; offensive weapons must be rendered inoperable and further shipment of offensive weapons to Cuba must cease -- all under effective international verification."

8. Kennedy to Khrushchev, October 27 (UNCL.)

- a) "The first thing that needs to be done, however, is for work to cease on offensive missile bases in Cuba and for all weapons systems in Cuba capable of offensive use to be rendered inoperable, under effective United Nations arrangements."
- b) "But the first ingredient, let me emphasize, is the cessation of work on missile sites in Cuba and measures to render such weapons inoperable, under effective international guarantees."

9. Khrushchev to Kennedy, October 28 (UNCL.)

"I regard with great understanding your concern and the concern of the peoples of the United States of America in connection with the fact that the weapons you describe as offensive are formidable weapons, indeed.

"Both you and we understand what kind of weapons these are."

"The Soviet Government, in addition to earlier instructions on the discontinuation of further work on weapons construction sites, has given a new order to dismantle the weapons, which you describe as offensive, and to pack and return them to the Soviet Union."

"Mr. President, I should like to say clearly once more that we could not remain indifferent to that and the Soviet Government decided to render assistance to Cuba with the means of defense against aggression, only with means for the purposes of defense. We have supplied the defense means which you describe as offensive means. We have supplied them to prevent an attack on Cuba, to prevent such acts."

10. Kennedy to Khrushchev, October 28 (UNCL.)

"I consider my letter to you of October 27 and your reply of today as firm undertakings on part of both our Governments which should be promptly carried out."

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